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C28/29 085137 NODS-00  
IS/FPC/CDR *AB* Date: *2/1/90*

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AMMAN FOR AMB. NEWTON WITH CODEL DOLE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS PREL 1Z  
SUBJECT: TENSIONS IN U.S. - IRAQI RELATIONS: DEMARCHE

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. IRAQI ACTIONS IN RECENT WEEKS AND MONTHS HAVE CAUSED A SHARP DETERIORATION IN U.S. - IRAQI RELATIONS. IRAQ WILL BE ON A COLLISION COURSE WITH THE U.S. IF IT CONTINUES TO ENGAGE IN ACTIONS THAT THREATEN THE STABILITY OF THE REGION UNDERMINE GLOBAL ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS AND FLOUT U.S. LAWS.
3. AMBASSADOR SHOULD APPROACH GOI AT AN APPROPRIATELY SENIOR LEVEL TO REVIEW IRAQI BEHAVIOR OVER THE LAST SIX

## NODIS REVIEW

- ~~Cat. A~~ - Caption removed:  
transferred to IM/IS/FPC
- Cat. B - Transferred to IM/IS/FPC  
with additional access  
controlled by S/S
- Cat. C - Caption and custody  
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Reviewed by: Scott E. Zoiss  
Date: 1/21/90

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MONTHS ALONG THE LINES OF PARA 4. WE WILL BE MAKING THE SAME POINTS TO AMBASSADOR AL-MASHAT IN WASHINGTON.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

-- LAST OCTOBER, WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER AZIZ MET SECRETARY BAKER, THE TWO SIDES COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO WORK FOR AN IMPROVED LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP. AS YOU WILL RECALL BOTH

GOVERNMENTS BELIEVED THERE WAS REASON TO CONTINUE AND WHERE POSSIBLE EXPAND COOPERATION THAT HAD GROWN BETWEEN US .

-- IRAQ HAD ENDED ITS MILITARY SUPPORT FOR GENERAL AOUN HAD PARTICIPATED IN CHEMICAL WEAPONS DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES AND WAS DISCUSSING DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC REFORMS. IN SHORT IT APPEARED THAT IRAQ WAS ASSUMING THE ROLE OF A MAJOR REGIONAL POWER IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY AND THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THAT AND WORK WITH IRAQ WHERE PROBLEMS REMAINED.

-- IN FACT UNFORTUNATELY IN THE TIME SINCE THAT MEETING THERE HAS BEEN A SERIES OF DISAPPOINTMENTS WHICH HAVE RAISED REAL CONCERNS ABOUT IRAQI INTENTIONS AND HAVE REDUCED SUPPORT IN THE U.S. FOR THE RELATIONSHIP.

-- IMMEDIATELY AFTER MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY KELLY, PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN PUBLICLY ATTACKED THE U.S. PRESENCE IN THE GULF. AS IRAQ KNOWS, THE U.S. HAS MAINTAINED THAT PRESENCE FOR MORE THAN FORTY YEARS, AND WE INTEND TO REMAIN IN SUPPORT OF OUR INTERESTS AND OUR FRIENDS IN THE REGION. IRAQ HAS PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE CONTRIBUTIONS THE U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE MADE TO REGIONAL

STABILITY AND ENDING THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. AFTER PRESIDENT HUSSEIN'S SPEECH WE ASKED FOR AND HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED

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THE OFFICIAL IRAQI POSITION.

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-- AS OUR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT POINTED OUT, IRAQ HAS AN ABYSMAL HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. DESPITE THE REASSURANCES THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ HAS GIVEN US, WE HAVE SEEN ONLY SLIGHT IMPROVEMENT IN IRAQ'S RECOGNITION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. HUMAN RIGHTS WILL CONTINUE TO BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO INTERFERE IN IRAQ'S DOMESTIC SITUATION, BUT WE WILL SPEAK OUT JUST AS WE DO WORLDWIDE ON BEHALF OF PRINCIPLES WE HOLD DEAR.

-- WE ARE DISTURBED BY CERTAIN ASPECTS OF IRAQ'S DEALINGS WITH THE IRAQI-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, INCLUDING ACTIVE COLLUSION WITH A MAN NOW UNDER INDICTMENT FOR A MURDER CONSPIRACY. THE ACTIVITIES OF AN IRAQI DIPLOMAT AT THE UN WENT BEYOND ALL ACCEPTABLE BOUNDS AND RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT IRAQ'S WILLINGNESS TO OBSERVE DIPLOMATIC NORMS.

-- THE CLANDESTINE ATTEMPT BY ELEMENTS OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT TO SMUGGLE MUNITIONS-LIST CAPACITORS ALSO SHOWED FLAGRANT DISREGARD FOR OUR LAWS. IRAQ KNEW NO EXPORT LICENSE WOULD EVER BE GRANTED FOR THESE ITEMS. IRAQ KNEW ITS AGENTS NEVER APPLIED FOR A LICENSE.

-- IN ADDITION THE SMUGGLING OF MILITARY CAPACITORS WELL SUITED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS APPLICATIONS CALLS INTO QUESTION IRAQ'S WILLINGNESS TO LIVE UP TO ITS NPT COMMITMENTS. IRAQ HAS A TREATY COMMITMENT NOT TO SEEK NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE EXPECT IRAQ TO LIVE UP TO THAT COMMITMENT. IRAQ SHOULD AVOID ACTIONS SUCH AS COVERT ATTEMPTS TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR COMMODITIES WHICH RAISE DOUBTS ABOUT ITS NUCLEAR INTENTIONS AND COMMITMENT TO THE TREATY.

-- SIMILARLY PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN'S APRIL 1 SPEECH CALLED INTO QUESTION IRAQ'S COMMITMENTS ABOUT THE USE OF

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CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

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-O IRAQ HAS A COMMITMENT TO THE 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS. WHICH PROHIBITS THE FIRST USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

-O IN THE WAKE OF IRAQ'S USE OF CW ON IRAQI KURDS. YOUR FOREIGN MINISTER REAFFIRMED IRAQ'S COMMITMENT TO THAT PROTOCOL.

-O PRESIDENT SADDAM'S SPEECH IMPLIED IRAQ WILL USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO RESPOND EVEN TO A CONVENTIONAL ATTACK A VIOLATION OF THE PROTOCOL.

-- WE WANT TO SEE AN END TO THE NON-CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

-- LAST BUT NOT AT ALL LEAST WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF IRAQ'S DECISION TO PLACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS AT H2 IN WESTERN IRAQ. THIS NEW INSTALLATION REPRESENTS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO A HUGE PART OF THE REGION -- INCLUDING OUR OWN NATO FORCES IN TURKEY.

-O WE NOTE IRAQ'S CLAIMS THAT THE INTENT IS DETERRENCE. BUT TAKEN TOGETHER WITH THE QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT IRAQI INTENTIONS CONCERNING CHEMICAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS MANY OBSERVERS FIND THIS DEPLOYMENT DEEPLY WORRYING.

-O THE DEPLOYMENT HAS ADDED TO REGIONAL INSTABILITY.

-- WE WANT ONE THING VERY CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD HOWEVER: AS CONCERNED AS WE ARE ABOUT IRAQ'S CHEMICAL NUCLEAR AND MISSILE PROGRAMS WE ARE NOT IN ANY SENSE PREPARING THE WAY FOR A PRE-EMPTIVE MILITARY UNILATERAL EFFORT TO ELIMINATE THESE PROGRAMS.

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-O WE CONDEMNED THE 1981 RAID. AND WOULD DO SO AGAIN TODAY. WE ARE TELLING ISRAEL SO. THERE IS NO GREEN LIGHT.

-- NEVERTHELESS. YOU MIGHT WANT TO CONSIDER WAYS TO DEFUSE TENSIONS WITH ISRAEL POSSIBLY BY OPENING AN INDIRECT LINE OF COMMUNICATIONS AS OTHER STATES IN THE AREA HAVE DONE. WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO FACILITATE THIS.

-- IRAQ IS NOW A MAJOR REGIONAL POWER AND SHOULD ACT IN THE RESPONSIBLE WAY SUCH A ROLE REQUIRES. AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE METHODICALLY DIVESTING THEMSELVES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IRAQ'S THREATS TO USE THESE SYSTEMS HAVE BECOME A MAJOR IMPEDIMENT TO THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. THAT IRAQ SAYS IT WANTS.

-- YOUR GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE SOME CONCRETE STEPS. PARTICULARLY IN AREAS INVOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS AND ILLEGAL PROCUREMENT ACTIVITIES TO ADDRESS THESE CONCERNS AND ACT TO REDUCE TENSIONS. WITHOUT SUCH MEASURES ON YOUR PART WHAT LITTLE SUPPORT THAT IS LEFT IN THE U.S. FOR IRAQ MAY FURTHER ERODE.

5. YOUR INTERLOCUTOR MAY RAISE IRAQ'S PROPOSAL TO FOR A NUCLEAR AND CW-FREE MIDDLE EAST. YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO RESPOND:

- THE U.S. IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROLIFERATION OF BOTH NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND WE ARE WORKING TO RESOLVE BOTH ISSUES.

- THE U.S. SUPPORTS UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE TO THE NPT

(INCLUDING ISRAEL) AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

-- WE ARE WORKING SEPARATELY TOWARDS A GLOBAL BAN ON THE PRODUCTION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. IN THE PARIS DECLARATION

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LAST YEAR IRAQ WAS ONE OF THE MANY COUNTRIES WHICH AGREED  
TO BECOME A PARTY TO THE BAN WHEN IT IS CONCLUDED.

-- WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE ISSUE OF BANNING CHEMICAL  
WEAPONS SHOULD BE LINKED IN ANY WAY TO THE SEPARATE  
NUCLEAR ISSUE.

6. IF THE IRAQIS RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE SECOND TRANCHE OF  
THE FY 90 CCC PROGRAM, YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINT:

-- NO DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN ON THE SECOND TRANCHE OF  
THE CCC PROGRAM FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR. THE MATTER IS UNDER  
REVIEW. BAKER

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